1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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There are also fishing battues, traps and nets being used. The fishing rites will be described under the head of religion.

Foods.—The Katab has two principal meals, at mid-day and after sunset (generally rather late in the evening, between 8 and 9). He also usually has a snack of something in the early morning. The porridge (*tuk*) of the evening meal is made from *dauro* millet, and it would not suit the palate of the Hausa, as the flour from which it is made is gritty, the result of insufficient milling and winnowing. The soup which accompanies the porridge is made usually of hibiscus seeds (*zuzan*), which the Hausa would only use as a last resort (he seasons his with the fruit of the locust-bean). Salt (or charcoal), pepper and wild tomato are added to the soup. A Hausa would not add tomato to a soup containing meat, but the Katab does not mix his meat with the soup (like the Hausa); he eats it separately. The Katab does not always have the luxury of *tuk* at night. He may be content with a dish of beans (*dijok*) or of *kali* (Hausa *fate*), i.e. guinea-corn seasoned with hibiscus leaves, or of boiled yam. The yams are not pounded and made into *sokara* after the Yoruba fashion. They are boiled in their skins, put out on a mat, cut up and divided by the head of the household, each person skinning his own share. Yams or *gwaza* so treated may form the entire menu for the day, i.e. they may be cooked over night, eaten hot first thing in the morning, eaten cold during the day, and eaten again hot at night.

As regards meat, the Katab eats beef, goat, sheep, chicken, bush pig, monkey, iguana (a particular delicacy among all tribes, Kanuri excepted), rats, etc., but does not (like his Kagoro brethren and southern tribes) eat dog's flesh. He uses his dogs for guarding the compound at night and for hunting. Nor does a dog form part of the bride-price, as among the Kagoro. The Katab commonly sell their dogs to the Kagoro and buy goats with the proceeds. Horse- and camel-flesh are taboo.

Beer (*akan*) is an important foodstuff, and the method of its preparation may be recorded. The guinea-corn is soaked in water for three nights, and is then spread out on a cemented surface, and covered with leaves to protect it from the wind and sun. The grain bursts and is put out in a basket, dried in the sun, and finally milled. The flour is placed in a pot, water is added, and the mixture is stirred regularly throughout the day. It is then boiled and left until the sediment has settled. The

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

bush pig, monkey, iguana, rats, etc., but do not (like the Kagoro) eat dog's flesh. Horse and camel flesh are taboo.[13]

Katab of Zangon Katab District

Location: Population

Zangon Katab District is the south-easternmost District of Zaria Emirate. South of it, still in Zaria Province, are the Independent Districts of Moroa, Kagoro, and Jaba (east to west), and, for a short space between the last two named, a narrow projection from the main body of Jema'a District (Jema'a Emirate and Division), Plateau Province. The Katab proper share the District primarily with Ikulu, Kaje and Kamantan, tribes of the Katab Group, north and west of the Katab, and the Kachichere, south-east; and also with Atsam (Chawai), "Ribawa" (the people of Riban village), both affiliated with the peoples of the High Plateau, and a minor salient of Kurama, in the Chawai tribal area to the east. Zangon Katab Town, seat of the District head (an official of the Emirate entitled Katuka) is primarily Hausa, an island in the heart of the Katab tribal area. Throughout the District there are small enclaves of Hausa craftsmen, particularly smiths, which probably antedate the Fulani conquest, and scattered bands of semi-nomadic Fulani, who appear to have made the District their headquarters for so long that they have adopted the name Kachichere, after their centre, the "Kachichere Plateau." Apart from Zangon Katab Town (population, 1,952, *c.* 1948), there are probably no very great concentrations of population anywhere in the District; it is one of the more densely populated, but the peoples depend largely on agriculture and shifting cultivation prevails, so that it can be assumed that the population is fairly evenly distributed.[14]

The total population of the District was 65,238 in the N.A. Census, 1948–9, and the area approximately 580 square miles,[15] giving a density of 112 per square mile. The population of the Katab tribe was 16,965.[16]

[13] Camels are, of course, a great rarity, occasionally reaching Zangon Katab market in trains from Kano and farther north at the height of the dry season; as has been noted, even horses are not plentiful in the area.

[14] At first sight, Zaria records seem to contradict this statement, showing the population of Gidan Jattau (Jatto) and Zonzon, both Katab, as 2,368 and 2,184 respectively, and, for example, Fadan Kamantan, 3,343, Kamurun Ikulu, 2,956, etc. These figures, however, refer to Village-areas; the size of these is unknown and there is no available evidence that any one of them constitutes a greater concentration of population than any other.

[15] The Census of 1931 gives the area of Zangon Katab District as 316 square miles, and that of Chawai District—later attached to Zangon Katab—as 204 square miles. Something like 60 square miles of Kaje tribal territory was annexed from Jema'a Division, Plateau Province, in 1934. The accuracy of the total given here is doubted by Reynolds, who has estimated the Kaje, Kamantan, and Ikulu tribal areas of the District—slightly less than half the total area of the District, to judge from the map, with less than half the total population—to total "about 450 square miles," with a density of around 68 per square mile.

[16] In addition, 1,820 Katab are returned from Kagoro District, 1,082 from Moroa, and five from Kachia, totalling 19,812 for the Province. (The possibility that those of Kagoro and Moroa may be communities of long standing, referred to by Temple, and perhaps partly or, by now, wholly assimilated by their hosts, is further considered below: see under *Dress*, cf. also Kaninkon; Kagoro.) "Hausa" of Zangon Katab District numbered 5,621, the remainder of the District total being non-Hausa indigenes. No figure is given for nomad Fulani in 1948, whose residence appears to be largely seasonal: in the Chawai area of the District alone the number has been reported to range from a peak of 5,400 (1928) to as low as 2,400 (1932). A. D. Percival estimated in 1932 that as many as 10,000 Fulani passed through the District annually. In general, the Fulani of the District circulate between the Kachichere Plateau and Jema'a, Keffi and Abuja Emirates, southward, and northward possibly as far as the Kano border and the Ningi Bush: there is no record of the effects on the local Fulani population of the virtual closing of the High Plateau to nomad herdsmen in the mid-'30s, which resulted in a mass-movement of Fulani from that area to the Mambila Plateau of the Northern Cameroons and beyond.

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hemp, and pepper. Fields—none very large in extent—of the staple crop, *dauro* (millet), are often widely scattered in the bush. Guinea-corn is "little grown" and used exclusively for beer, it is thickly interplanted with *gurguzu* ("sorrel," *Hibiscus var.*) and *kalkashi* ("related to beniseed, used in soups"). According to Meek, *acha* (*Digitaria exilis*) is equal to millet in importance, and *aburu* (*D. iburus*) widely grown. Groundnuts also are apparently grown on the bush farms; it is not stated whether these are consumed locally or are primarily a cash crop.

Heavy work on the bush farms is done under the *gaya* (Hausa "bee," or co-operative work) system, whereby neighbours in gangs move from the farms of one household to those of the next, their services rewarded with beer provided by the head of each household. The *gaya* appears to be organized basically on the principle of locality, but it will be recalled that the local unit is normally also a kinship unit; further, suitors of daughters of each household are obliged to join the *gaya*, and these will not be close neighbours, owing to the localization of Katab exogamous units.

Owing to the fact already noted that every parcel of land in the Katab tribal area appears to be claimed, shifting cultivation among Katab does not appear to form the "classical" pattern of the Nigerian Tiv. Cole refers to Katab practice as "shifting compound" cultivation, where the home farms are occupied with the house in the middle, thus ensuring that their fertility is kept up by constant manuring; the "bush" farm is worked until its productivity becomes dangerously low. The whole household then moves to the "bush" farm, which thus becomes the "home" farm and is brought back into good fettle by manuring. This version appears to be simplified, for it will be recalled that normally, at Jan Kasa, at any rate, the fields constituting the bush farm may be very widely scattered; it can be assumed then that normally only one bush plot at a time is transformed in this way, and it seems not unlikely that from time to time one or more fields may be allowed simply to lie fallow; this, at least, is the implication of the data relating to loans, cited above. The circuit, however, appears to have very definite limits.

Goats and fowls appear to be kept in considerable numbers; sheep are less numerous than goats. Barnicott reported that there were no horses in the Katab area, but that in earlier, more prosperous, years horses and mares were numerous. Cattle are not kept by Katab, apparently, but Brice-Smith states that Fulani animals are always available for purchase by the Hausa butchers of Zangon Katab.

The Daily and Annual Cycles: Foods[12]

In the farming (rainy) season, all males "from the time they are old enough to use a hoe," leave the compound to work on their bush farms. A man ordinarily has more leisure in the dry season; building a new compound, or making major repairs on existing houses may take virtually his whole time for a period, but once such work is done, he has time to devote to weaving mats, drinking beer with age-mates and visiting the market, though he may pass days simply relaxing in his compound. The dry season is, of course, important as a time for festivals, both religious and secular, and for contracting primary marriages. A woman's work does not change radically during the dry season although, as she does not have to go daily to the bush farm taking food for her husband, she may have more time to spend gathering firewood and in the market.

The most important food of the Katab is millet porridge, served with a soup or gravy of hibiscus seeds, usually highly seasoned. Boiled yams or *gwaza*, eaten hot or cold, may, however, form the entire menu for the day. As is usual in this part of Nigeria, where milk and milk products are scarce, guinea-corn beer is an important foodstuff. Meek states that the Katab eat beef, goat, sheep, chicken,

[12] See Meek, 1931, vol. II, pp. 47–51, for a detailed account.

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co-operative society, the women's friendly societies of the senior mission of the district, and the beer-brewing groups among pagan women, though in what respects the last is a new development is not stated.

Land Tenure: Cole states that "breakdown to individual tenure" has proceeded—by implication since Administration—even further among Kagoro than among Katab, a conclusion difficult to defend. In fact, the number of adult males per compound (1.6) is smaller than among Katab proper,[80] but it is not clear that this situation is entirely new. Cole notes that in pre-British times it was customary for a clan, lineage or domestic unit "to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact bloc." It would not be surprising if, under these circumstances, the size of the domestic unit had decreased[81] since Administration, but the facts are virtually impossible to establish on the basis of available information, and Cole himself states that the figure for adult males per compound has remained stationary as far back as the records show it (to 1939 only). More important, it would appear that land is normally as much clan property as ever, but, that where clan rights over land have been curtailed in any respect, it is the power of the civil heads, both in the Village-areas and in the District, not the power of the individual, that has grown correspondingly.

It is noteworthy, however, that traditionally the marshlands of Kagoro Independent District were, as Smith observes, *res nullius*, and remained so until 1946. Coco yam and *tumuku* (Hausa) were until that time the main crops, but the introduction of rice in 1941 and its development as a cash crop has given marsh plots a new significance. It was said in 1950 that all marshland was under cultivation. Marsh plots and the crops grown on them are individually owned, but as no case of inheritance has come before the courts, it cannot be said definitely what rights, if any, over marsh plots may accrue to lineages and clans in time.

Miscellaneous: Pig-rearing is an important activity, said to have been introduced a generation ago largely as a result of the efforts of the senior mission in the area, and is approached only by rice-growing as a source of income to the District. Wages may be earned by men in the employ of the missions, the railway, the mining companies in the general area, the army, and the Native Authority.

The principle expenditures of cash, according to Smith, are for meat, most household utensils and metal goods, salt, kerosene, soap, and clothing;[82] to this list tax may be added. Pots are generally bought direct from Ataka potters of Moroa District; for the remainder of the goods listed Kagoro depend on the trading community in the District.

Crafts in the District seem to be limited to basketry, including the manufacture of the *oyam*, by women; house-building, mat-making, and a little woodwork (most notably the woman's headboard) by men.[83]

Regarding "the traditional economy" in general, Smith concludes that no great changes have as yet taken place.

The Life Cycle

Birth

Tremearne reports that among Kagoro there is no "festivity" at the birth of a child, but that a gift is presented to the mother's father, "otherwise the grandfather owns" the child. Apart from these, Tremearne apparently found it impossible to make generalizations: of various accounts which he received he reports only one, that some Kagoro burn the umbilical cord when it is dropped, the ashes are mixed with grease and "rubbed on the child's head to harden it." According to

[80] Cf. discussion of Kagoro domestic unit, pp. 91–2 above.

[81] Cf. contrasting materials produced by Cole from among Jaba of Kwoi (Jaba Independent District), and Jaba of Kachia District, cited below.

[82] Cloth is more common to-day than formerly, but in general Kagoro conform to traditional standards in dress, and the Ankwei ban on cloth at ritual performances appears still to hold.

[83] In this connection Smith notes: "European-type carpentry providing domestic furniture has been assimilated by Kagoro."

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoma
Kagoro

the day that they begin to walk their father invites the whole village to a beer orgy. 852

The ceremonies that take place upon death are identical with those practised by the Jaba. A Kagoma widow, however, only mourns for one month and can marry again in the second. Under no circumstances can a woman inherit. 764 [581] [428]

They believe that a departed spirit can return to earth as a shooting star and re-enter upon a fresh sphere of human existence. 775

Sons inherit the whole property, but the younger brother of the deceased has the first choice of the widows. Failing sons, brothers inherit. 428

They believe in an all-powerful god. 776

KAGORO.

AUTHORITIES:

Mr. H. F. Mathews. Major Tremearne.

The Kagoro have a population approaching some 8,500 in number and occupy an area of about 110 square miles in the Jemaa Division, on the northern and western faces of a ridge of mountains, known as Kagoro, which runs from Bauchi into Nassarawa. 131 161

Most of the towns are built at the foot of these hills, where the land is very fertile and large crops of corn, principally maiwa, which is almost exclusively used for drink, and beans are raised. The beans are the property of the women and are grown on trellises, like vines, and form the principal food of the people. Manure from fowls, and goat-dung and ashes are used. Cattle are not kept and there are no markets. 361 241 [273] [231]

In old days the Kagoro lived underground and went to their farms through underground tunnels, owing, they say, to the place being over-run with wild beasts. The villages are now surrounded with high cactus hedges, which grow to a height of from twelve to fifteen feet. In most cases each compound and each field is encircled by one of these. At the entrance the hedges overlap on the principle of a swivel-ring for keys. The walls of the huts are of mud and the roofs of thatch, which latter are renewed every year after the harvest. Each woman has her own house, which is accessible through one, or sometimes two, doors, two and a half to three feet in height. The entrance commonly leads into a low narrow verandah, but sometimes straight into a sort of hall which runs along the whole width of the house, and is used for storing pots, etc. A feature of the doorways is that each one is double and in between each is 173 361 342

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

was then allowed to return to his village on giving an expiatory feast to the Elders, but might neither eat nor drink with other men for the rest of his life.

In a case of adultery the injured man could demand the death of both the guilty parties, otherwise they were banished for life, being treated as dogs and fed with scraps out of broken vessels until they were drummed out of the place by old women. Oath was taken by jumping forwards and backwards over a sword, an arrow, a skull, and the leaf of the male shea-butter tree.

Inheritance was to the male heirs in the following order: Sons, brothers, nephews, grand-children—failing these to the Chief. It was, however, common for a man to give his property away in his life-time, when he became a pensioner to the recipient. A brother or son inherited the deceased's widows, but with that exception a man might not marry the widow of any member of his clan.

In appearance the Kaje is slim and of fair physique, he is well built, but his extreme drunkenness has left a mark on the skull formation.

The men wear a short gown or leather loin-cloth and the youths plait their hair and ornament it with beads. The women shave their heads and wear a leather string round the waist to which is attached a wide cone with a wooden base. That of a Chief's daughter is bound with copper wire and the base is adorned with beads—the poorer women bind it with bamboo. When working on their farms this is discarded and the married women each morning pluck a wisp of vetch, some two feet long, and tuck it under the waist-belt leaving six inches hanging in front, while the long end is pulled back between the thighs so that it sticks out like a tail. Girls wear a small apron of cowrie shells. In Zaria the women wear wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips.

They are excellent farmers and breeders of live-stock. They manure the ground with dung from goats and fowls, and ashes. They are keen hunters (possessing a few horses), and are expert highway robbers, but they respect any property left on the road if a leaf of the male shea-butter tree has been placed upon it.

Their arms are the bow and arrow.

They live in compounds surrounded by high cactus hedges. The house and granary are in one, the former being entered through a low narrow verandah, which leads into a sort of hall, where pots are stored, and which runs along the whole width of the house. Within this is a bigger sleeping apartment, and within again a circular passage sometimes roofed with an attic above, enclosing the corn-bin. Between each room is a double doorway two and a half to three feet in height, in the grooves of which a mat or shield could be placed. The houses are of mud and the roofs